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In two final chapters Le Mené looks at specific sectors of an economy in recession over the period from 1350 to 1450: reduction in cultivated land, abandoned villages, recession in grain production (with aborted recovery and subsequent relapse), decline in viticulture, but greater resilience in the livestock sector. The traditional cloth industry was in decline but new producers, for example in rural Flanders, enjoyed some success. In this highly disputed area where John Munro has challenged conventional paradigms, Le Mené follows D. Clauzel in his vision of four cycles, leading from the decline of the *bonne draperie*, to the emergence of a *noivelle draperie*, to the triumph of the *sayetterie*, and finally the relaunching of the industry with the rural production of cloth. However, the success enjoyed by Lille and Valenciennes in this regard was by no means universal. Commerce of all kinds was hard-hit by the multitude of changes brought about by crisis. No longer was France the center of a great continental trading system. Itineraries had changed by the mid-fifteenth century. Maritime connections linking Italy and the North Sea permitted the circumnavigation of Spain and France. Overland routes shifted east into Germany and Switzerland, bypassing the old "Rhône-Saône-Rhin" axis.

Finally, Le Mené takes stock of two centuries of change. He argues that an economic depression was unmistakable; a closer examination, however, leads him to nuance the verdict with acknowledgments of demographic recovery, seasonal migrations, significant monetary investments, and, tentatively, a conservative reconstruction, with the parameters of production still recognizable. The nobility, peasantry, and urban dwellers experienced the crises differently, with towns undergoing greater transformation than the countryside. Bourgeois France would be a country where wealth and profession triumphed over the traditional urban nobility and the patriciate. Le Mené paints a complex and frequently changing picture of late medieval France in crisis.

The authors approach their collaborative task somewhat differently, but a coherent whole emerges nonetheless. Carpentier uses short case studies and includes some short translated passages from texts to enhance her discussion, which privileges the social and demographic without ignoring the economic aspects of the period from 1000 to 1300. Le Mené furnishes a detailed economic analysis of sometimes-conflicting trends in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The authors provide an ample bibliography, an index, and a lengthy table of contents. Within chapters, there is great concern for categorization and subcategorization of comments. Rarely are there typos (my favorite was the new Abelard treatise, *Sic et nunc*), but typesetting is careless, with fonts fluctuating irrationally. In sum, this is a useful study which covers in a single volume periods which were broken out into separate volumes on social and economic history in the Nouvelle Clio series of 30 to 40 years ago when, as the authors lament, a manual of this sort would have surprised no one.

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MODERN EUROPE

The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300–1800. Edited by N. B. Harte. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. xiv, 334. \$67.00.

This book is in essence an argument with three fathers, namely the fathers of the textile history of northwestern Europe in the late medieval and early modern periods: H. Pirenne, N. W. Posthumus, and E. Coornaert. The argument turns upon the nature and timing of the rise and diffusion of the "new draperies" and their relations with the development of the

economy at large. Pirenne and Posthumus held the view that the history of textile-making in the sixteenth century featured a sharp discontinuity, in the breakthrough of a new sort of drapery. This revolution, which originated in the countryside of southwest Flanders and subsequently spread to towns in England and the north Netherlands, consisted in the production of cheap, light fabrics made from Spanish wool in a capitalist, guild-free setting. While Coornaert took issue with Pirenne on the precise nature of these new branches of the textile industry, he subscribed to the thesis of a close relationship between the success of the new draperies and capitalist conditions at large. None of the fathers had an eye for the gendered aspects of the division of labor in textile manufacture. In this volume edited by Negley Harte, which arose from a conference sponsored jointly by the Pasold Research Fund and the Belgian National Foundation for Scientific Research as long ago as 1988 (before the Fall of the Berlin Wall), questions of the following sort are raised: Were the "new" draperies really new, and if so, in what sense? Where did they come from? What were their consequences for the nature and organization of work? How can the fortunes of this "new" branch of textile industry be explained?

The view of the fathers is most overtly challenged in contributions by John Munro, Leo Noordegraaf, and Martha Howell, each of which deals with the new draperies in the Low Countries, and in an essay by Patrick Chorley, which looks into technical change in the woollen industry in Europe between c.1300 and 1700. In addition, the volume includes detailed studies of the new draperies in French Flanders, Hainaut, and the Tournaisis by Robert Duplessis, and in England (especially Norwich) by B. A. Holderness, Luc Martin and Ursula Priestley.

Munro sets out to demolish the Pirennean "fallacies" by mustering a vast array of evidence to the effect that the true "new draperies" came into existence as a branch of woollen manufacture in the small towns and villages of Flanders in the first half of the fourteenth century, but just like the traditional draperies they later assumed a more urban, guild-regulated character; these new draperies only slowly adopted the use of Spanish wool; and the spread of the production of cheap, light fabrics (notably say-making) in rural southwest Flanders in the sixteenth century was not truly new but a revival of the semiworsted branch of textile manufacture which had flourished in the cities and countryside of Flanders as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but which had virtually disappeared as an export industry after 1300 due to warfare and rising transaction costs. Thus, the "new draperies" that were introduced into England in the late sixteenth century were essentially a revamped version of an "old" Flemish industry. Chorley refines the picture of the woollen industry's evolution by arguing that this branch of textile manufacture saw two major, partly overlapping phases of technical change in the late medieval and early modern periods: the first, starting early in the fourteenth century and lasting well into the sixteenth, featured the introduction of spinning of the weft on the great wheel, the second, beginning in the sixteenth century and reaching its climax in the seventeenth, involved the application of carding and wheel-spinning to the warp. Noordegraaf questions the validity of the thesis that there was a radical break in the nature and organization of textile production in the northern Netherlands after c.1580, thanks to the introduction of the new draperies by immigrants from the South. He suggests that the northward spread of the new draperies began well before the 1580s, and that the organization of production in the "new" branch of production at first hardly differed from the "old." Howell stresses that the sexual division of labor in the new and light draperies in Flanders and the northern Netherlands showed much more variation than has hitherto been assumed: women did not hold only menial, unskilled jobs. It would be wrong, she argues, to reduce these differences simply to the degree of "capitalist" organization of the industry.

The new image of the new draperies which emerges from these essays is fuzzier and more complex than the old one. This might be a cause for regret among those who cherish neat and simple pictures of the past. But to my mind, this collection of often highly specialized studies should be regarded as a splendid contribution to economic history. These essays not only offer greater insight into the timing and rate of technical change in the leading branch of late medieval and early modern industry, they also force us to rethink the connections between industrial innovation, the extent and nature of industrial regulation, and the relationship between urban and rural sectors of the economy.

The introduction by Harte is disappointingly short, however: a mere four pages. Although it does an adequate job in relating the studies by Holderness, Martin, and Priestley to ongoing debates on the economic history of England in the early modern period, it hardly touches on the broader perspectives provided in the articles by Munro, Noordegraaf, Howell, and Chorley. Nor does it address the larger question, which naturally arises when reading their iconoclastic statements: Why were the fathers so keen to see discontinuities, whereas historians writing in the late 1980s are more prone to perceive continuities and variations? This change in emphasis is after all not simply a matter of gathering more data, it is also a matter of asking different questions and applying different perspectives. Thus, textile history holds intriguing questions in store not only for economic and social historians, but for intellectual historians as well.

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Burgundy to Champagne: The Wine Trade in Early Modern France. By Thomas Brennan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Pp. xxi, 350. \$39.95.

There is more to agriculture than grain. Yet until recently economic historians have paid scant attention to the wine trade, despite its importance to the economies of modern France and Spain, and despite its central role in the external trade of early modern Europe. Wine is also of interest to cultural and social historians, featuring as it does in the imagery of literature and the arts and in the changing discourse of morality, abstinence, and libertinism. The consumption of wine would be of interest even if the romance of the vine had not played such a prominent role in world history, simply by virtue of its role as an important commodity, at times both luxury good and daily necessity.

Thomas Brennan makes an important and impressive contribution to the literature with his study of the early modern wine trade in Burgundy and Champagne. This is a detailed and elegant regional history which seeks to do justice to the social and cultural dimensions of the wine trade, while providing an account sufficiently elaborated to interest those readers drawn to the economic and business aspects of regional exchange.

This book is also addressed to the old debate about the extent to which French agriculture was subject to market forces, or at least to commercialization. Whether or not the idea of a subsistence economy, untouched by the market, even survives in the cultivation of grain, Brennan comes down strongly on the side of widespread commercialization in the wine industry. Perhaps it was wine merchants' extensive involvement in trade at the national and international levels which accounted for the greater sophistication and dense commercial networking of Burgundian viticulture. But Brennan criticizes the way the debate about the "moral economy of the peasant" has centered almost exclusively on the markets for grain, and on the various social debates concerning popular responses to "the market." By shifting the focus to wine, Brennan documents the presence of well-functioning, highly sophisti-